and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats. The two groups coincide in the matter of the zadruga (communal holding of rural property), and in matters where considerable differences are to be noted, for example in the arrangement of houses, the boundary line of difference does not coincide with the Serbo-Croat frontier. The Roman type with a single hearth predominates in Montenegro, while in Dalmatia, in Hercegovina, and in the other areas the High German type with two hearths predominates.

According to Weissbach, the Serbo-Croats present the following characteristics: tall stature, strong preponderance of the dark type, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, strongly brachycephalic and of an extremely large cranial capacity. The cephalic index is an average of 84 (85.7 among the Bosnians and the Croats of today). The cranial capacity is 1,524. There are 93.5% brachycephalics and 6% mesocephalics. Weissbach concluded that the Serbs and Croats should be considered as forming one and the same people. Recently Mr. Zupanic declared that physical differences exist between the two national groups; but it is uncertain, at the present stage of the science, whether his statement can be justified. From the language point of view, the south Slav group in the west splits up as follows: the Cakavci (1) being identified with /175/ the Croats, the Stokavci with the Serbs, and the Kajkavci with the Slovenes. Miklosic still distinguishes a Serbian tongue and a Croatian tongue. But it is proven today that this distinction has no basis.

1. These groups are thus named on the basis of the manner in which they say or pronounce the relative pronoun. /rather, pronominal word ca, sto, kaj, meaning "what". Editor./

Nevertheless, we should point out some dialectical shadings which are not in accordance with the political distinctions. Alongside the two great dialects of Stokavci and Cakavci, there are other transitional dialects: the Kaikavski of the west, toward the Slovenes, the dialect of Prizren or of Timok, otherwise called "Old Serb", and the Svrljiski dialect to the east toward the Bulgars. Several eminent philologists, notably Belic, relate the Kaikavstina to the Slovene tongue. According to the recent studies of Mr. Resetar, the Kaikav territory is separated from the other two by a line which starts from Turnovac, on the Drava, reaches Virovitica, runs around Bjelovar, goes to Trnovitica, Jasenovac on the Sava, follows the Sava as far as Belaj, then runs to Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara).

1 [Le Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

primitive Germans, though the latter advanced more rapidly in proportion with their more intimate and prior contacts with the Mediterranean world. The predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in areas well suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula—though it is also likely that the epoch of the migrations and of repeated nomad incursions from Asia interrupted to some extent the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. The primitive plow of the Slavs prior to the migrations was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. It was later supplemented by a pole to which draft animals could be attached and a handle by which the driver could guide its course.

The primitive Slavic village varied in type. The houses might be grouped in horseshoe arrangement around a central space or in a straight line on either side of a thoroughfare. Neither of these village types appears, however, quite as primeval as the system whereby each household occupied an isolated structure in the midst of the lands its members tilled. Stone buildings were unknown. The earliest type of house consisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth. The wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. The primitive Slavs also erected rude log cabins without digging into the ground. We have no data on the internal furnishings of the Slavic house before the eleventh century A.D.

The chilly climate in which they lived made furs the primitive costume of the early Slavs. Furs later became an important item of Slavic export, as is shown by the early introduction of the Slavic names for squirrel and ermine into both Latin and Greek. The male costume among the early Slavs consisted of a coarse shirt falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with wide trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt they sometimes substituted a short tunic, which might be

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The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits [1].

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuć'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house [2]. The number of klijeti existing round the kuć'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster [3]. As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

S. SL [342] [592] [513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. G. Megas, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See J. Cvijić, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (1) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8). B 342 [351]

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey.

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1). B [313]

1) According to **Niederle**, op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their SL 342 333

[Text continues on p. 69]

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μεσοδωμι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. J. Cvijić, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, G. Megas, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

1) According to Cvijic, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἐγχιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105. **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kŭsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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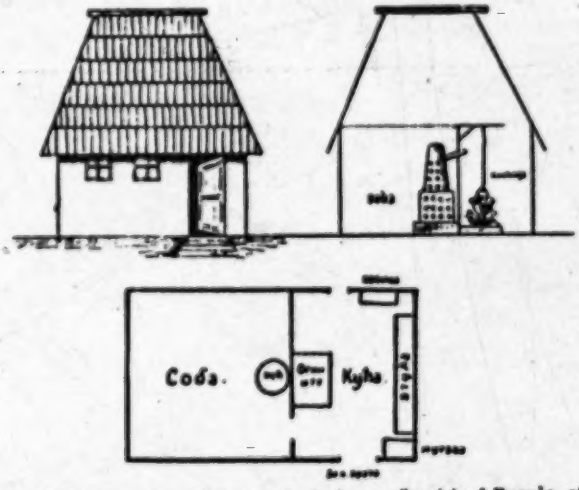

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

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house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgarian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat 342
while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of 354
the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. 231
It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the 252
smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there 251
is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. 353
Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, SL
and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is 172
shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple 342 ●
shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of B
more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, 342
branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of 171
the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously B
due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of SL
Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, 342
Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jireček**, op. cit. 137. **G. Kazarow**, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

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342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
[342] i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living
[361] a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
175 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
648 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the
361 Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the ad-
G vantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
175 were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
648 Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks
SL and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the
● [342] previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kid-
B napped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-
[727]

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

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Austrian Colonel Borovicska, these huts were, in 1858, the normal type of house in the Kossovo valley (1).

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The Czech historian L. Niederle is more plain about the present subject. According to him the old typical house of the Balkan Slavs appears as a simple hut (kuc'a) with small auxiliary spaces near it. But when he examines the Slav dwellings in general, he says that «only the Serbs, the Kroats and the Bulgars ignored the ante-room from the beginning (le vestibule)», that is the second room, which was built in front of the entrance of the single room of the Slav house already before the 11th century, at first in order to protect the entrance against the direct influence of the rain, the snow or the cold; but later it constituted a separate space, used for the storing of various articles, for the stabling of cattle and for the habitation of persons in summer months (Fig. 45, b). «We must therefore suppose», says Niederle, «that the Slavs of South had abandoned their primary Northern homeland before the ante-room (vestibule or antichamber) had formed an essential and independent part of the house in the Northern countries. This progress, on the other hand, would not have been possible, as long as the population lived under semi-nomadic conditions and did not build permanent, spacy and strong shelters. Consequently, the transition to the permanent habitation was made from the 6th to the 11th century, that is to say at a period when the main bulk of the Jugoslavs had already descended towards the Danube and even more to the South of it» (2).

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It is thus explained why the ancient Jugoslav house did not follow the evolution of the houses of the Slav peoples living in Eastern and central Europe, but has the primitive form of a Slav house, i.e. the form of a simple hut from the very beginning.

But also another great progress achieved by the Slav house architecture before the 10th century, under foreign influence this time, remained unknown to the old Jugoslav house: it is the creation, in the interior of the house, of the «izba» with its stove and later with its kitchen, which originated, as we have seen, (pp. 71 foll. above) from a German influence. Niederle says: «Only the old Jugoslav kuc'as have no ovens but just one hearth. This leads us to believe that: the Jugoslavs started their migration to the South before the introduction of the oven or of the stove into their houses» (3).

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1) **Franz Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Berlin 1925, p. 8.
2) **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave. Paris, 1926, 2, 102 foll.
3) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 122.

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Another characteristic of the Slav house, the «kleti», a small separate building, that was originally constructed by the Slavs near their own house, without any hearth, and was used as a store-room and at the same time as stable and as bedroom for young couples, it exists in the Serb houses, as well as in the Russian ones. This is a proof that the Jugoslav were aware of its existence already in the 6th and 7th centuries, when they arrived at the Greek peninsula. This space appears, even to-day, either as a store-room, or a chamber without any hearth, to be used especially by married members of the family. Thus in the Serb farm-houses belonging to one zadruga, one may count as many klijets i. e. small wooden buildings round the family kuc'a, as there are couples in the family.

From the above we may conclude that, when establishing themselves on this side of the Danube in lands of the Byzantine empire, the Jugoslavs knew only the simpler, the primitive forms of Slav houses and consequently the entire evolution which is shown by the Jugoslav house, especially in the purely Serb countries, has been accomplished on Balkan soil under the influence of the building methods in use in the Balkan peninsula from ancient times.

We have already said that Cvijic' distinguishes a type of Greco-mediterranean house which «probably originates from the old Byzantine houses». «We can also see this house», he writes, «in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones with a continental climate, as well as in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula».

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According to Cvijic', «the Greco-mediterranean house differs slightly or not at all from the house of the Vardar district (maison vardarienne) for which it is used as the model (le prototype)». The same may be said of the Morava valley house (maison moravienne) whose one component, the portico (auvent), has the obviously Greek name doksat (Greek δοξάτος) while this same component, more to the South, in the Vardar district, is called by another Greek name: krevet (Greek κρεββάτι)(1). As we have seen, even the first of the additions to the kuc'a, namely the place where various articles are kept, is called

1) J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 224 Cf. the κρεββάτα of the houses of Ambelakia, Rapsani, Arta etc. (G. Megas, Θεσσ. Οἰκ., pp. 86 foll., 95 foll. and the δοξάτον of the Kastoria noble houses (A. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος B p. 181 foll. p. 196 foll.).

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Y 342 down from the middle beam. The second house has whitewashed walls, a tall roof covered with roughly planed wooden planks.

This bipartite house has its door opening always on the kitchen and never on the chamber. A wooden roof (tavan) is found only over the chamber and never over the kitchen. (See plan and section of Bosnian house, fig. 46 above).

According to Meringer, the chamber in the above house was formed by the separation of one part of the original one-roomed house (1). SL [342] But the evolution of the Slav house forms in the Western Karpathians, the study of which has helped also in explaining the heating

Fig. 52 Primitive two-room little house with walls made of a fence of bars and the roof of willow
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, f. 3)

Fig. 53 Two-room little house in the area of Dolnja Tuzla in Bosnia
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, f. 4)

SL 342 system of Slav houses (see fig. 45 above), also shows in a persuasive way that the composition of this bipartite building as well, may have derived from the addition of a space, which was used as an ante-room, to the original room of the cottage.

The increase of space was achieved in the Bosnian house also by the construction of one room or one storeroom in the interior of the high roof, exactly over the sleeping chamber, that is the soba; this is considered by Meringer as the first step towards the formation of a two-storey house in Bosnia (Fig. 54).

In the Herzegovina, as stated, one usually meets the simpler forms of houses, but a certain tendency is felt towards a more elaborate formation of house. Thus, some old houses which, according to Meringer, were originally one-roomed, finally acquired two other three

1) R. Meringer, Das volkst. Haus... pp. 253, 286 Nr. 4. Die Stellung des bosn. Hauses... p. 2.

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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization (1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses (2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth. It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive». (page 81). Cf. **Fr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen Leipzig, 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op cit p. 73.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

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earth. The roof is always of the saddle-type and is covered with tiles. In the old days, as it is said, the roofs were covered with thatch and wood. The roof is supported by coupled beams. Originally, the house was divided into two parts: the kitchen and the room».

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«It is characteristic, he says, to note the open fire-place at the kitchen wall, which is usually kept even after the kitchen has been made into a room. An iron stove is also used now. The house is usually approached through a covered terrace, occupying part of the front wall and supported by small arched pillars, that gives a very characteristic appearance to these buildings. In the old days, most of the houses had a balcony or a covered portico extending all along the front of the house. These disappeared in the course of various changes, but their traces can often be seen as yet».

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«The characteristic mark of the house is given by the fire-place, that is all black from the smoke of years. A chain hangs over the fire-place.... Also the bread is baked there; a big, semicircular cover is used for that purpose. This cover is placed over the bread, and live coals are placed over the cover which bakes the bread».

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When further examining the architecture of the Croat villages, the Russian investigator finds «many common elements with the Eastern — Slav shapes — many more than with the Serbs and the Bulgars. The new houses are made of stone, but many old houses have remained which were not made of round bars but of adzed wood logs, or of wood planks, placed aslant. The ends of the logs protrude irregularly. Roofs are all of the eagle type and project from the walls very strongly. Most of them are covered with tiles, but there are some made of thatch. The one-storey houses prevail, and the plan of the house is very primitive. One can often see houses with only one room, but, as a rule, we see houses with two or three rooms. One of the rooms is called «hiza» (as the entire house), and the other, «hizitsa». If there is a third room, this is either an intermediate passage with a fire-place or a cellar... The most interesting point is that almost all the old houses have a petchka (stove) of about the same type as the Russian one. On the wall facing the stove and diagonally, we can see the ikons and photographs hanging there. This is similar to the Russian «good corner»... (p. 132).

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The general conclusion Tokariof draws from his remarks on the architecture of the Balkan Slav peoples is particularly didactic. He says: «The popular architecture of the Croat village, near Zagreb, completely differs in its whole from the architecture prevailing in

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the Balkan peninsula. We find here a whole series of elements and conditions, entirely unknown to Serbs and Bulgars: buildings made of adzed wood, two sided thatch roof, Russian type of stove (petschka) instead of a fire-plase (tzaki), «good corner» facing it, etc. Similar phenomena exist in Slovenia (see the works of A.N. Harouzin) but do not further to the South, over the Savo River. One is driven to think of a movement of civilization, from North to South that has probably some relation to the invasion of the Slavs. Further to the South, over the Savo and the Danube, this flow was exhausted and Slav colonists, who had reached more southward than all others, the forefathers of Bulgars and Serbs, assimilated some shapes of civilization that previously existed there (stone architecture, houses with fire-place, etc.). And the forefathers of Croats and Slovens, who do not belong to this vanguard of colonisation and did not go so far to the South, retained the ancient Slav building forms» (p. 132).

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Thus, from a mere examination of the forms of popular architecture the Slavonian ethnologist drew conclusions about the cross-breeding of civilizations on the Balkan peninsula and about the influence on it of «previously existing» forms of civilization that caused, as he says, the «exhaustion of the flow of civilization» (?) moving from North to South. The envoy of the Soviet Academy does not say, or perhaps does not judge necessary to say, what was exactly the character and the origin of this indigenous civilization that taught the Slav colonist vanguard higher forms of human habitation. But it is expressedly proved that, while the Northern Slavs owe much of the important progress of their national house building shapes to foreign, and especially German, influences, the Slavs of the South, when developing the form of their rural and their urban house, had the Greek houses as a model before their eyes.